## Message Text

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AMEMBASSY SANAA PRIORITY
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E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: EG, IS, PINR

SUBJECT: INTSUM 612 - JULY 24, 1978

LONDON FOR KINSOLVING
PARIS FOR NICHOLAS MURPHY
OTHER ADDRESSEES FOR CHIEFS OF MISSION

WARNING NOTICE SENSITIVE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN NATIONALS

- 1. LEBANON. FIGHTING BROKE OUT BETWEEN CHRISTIAN MILITIAS AND THE SYRIANS IN THE HILLS EAST OF BEIRUT OVER THE WEEKEND IN THE WORST VIOLENCE SINCE THE JULY 6 CEASEFIRE.

  THE AREA OF HADETH WAS HEAVILY SHELLED SATURDAY NIGHT AND AGAIN ON SUNDAY. SYRIA CLAIMS THAT ITS FORCES WERE RESPONDING TO CHRISTIAN PROVOCATIONS, WHICH RESULTED IN TWO OF THEIR SOLDIERS BEING WOUNDED BY SNIPER FIRE IN THE HADETH AREA. SYRIAN ARTILLERY ATTACKS WERE DESIGNED TO SILENCE THESE SNIPERS.
- 2. PRESIDENT SARKIS IS CLEARLY WORRIED ABOUT SYRIAN INTENTIONS; SOME OFFICIALS CLOSE TO THE PRESIDENT WONDER WHETHER THE ARAB STATES HAD GIVEN THE SYRIANS THE GREEN LIGHT TO CRUSH THE PHALANGE AND THE SHAMOUNISTS. WE DO CONFIDENTIAL

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NOT BELIEVE THAT THE OTHER ARABS HAVE DONE SO, BUT NOTE THAT IF THE SYRIANS DETERMINED TO CRUSH THE RIGHTISTS, DAMASCUS WOULD NOT NEED THE GO AHEAD FROM THE OTHER ARABS. NEVERTHELESS, WE HAVE HAD NO INDICATION THAT THE SYRIANS PLAN TO ESCALATE THE FIGHTING AT THIS TIME.

- 3. THE SYRIANS ARE UNDOUBTEDLY INCENSED AT CONTINUING RIGHTIST PROPAGANDA ATTACKS. PARTICULARLY IRKSOME WAS AN APPEAL BY CAMILLE SHAMOUN DIRECTLY TO THE SYRIAN SOLDIERS. HE BLAMED THE BAATHIST GOVERNMENT IN DAMASCUS FOR CREATING FRICTION BETWEEN THE LEBANESE AND SYRIAN PEOPLES. HE CALLED ON THE SOLDIERS TO REFUSE TO KILL LEBANESE AND TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES. SHAMOUN CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT "THE HISTORIC TIES BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES ARE STRONGER THAN THE INJUSTICE AND IGNORANCE OF THE RULERS."
- 4. TENSIONS BETWEEN THE RIGHTISTS AND THE SYRIANS HAVE BEEN INCREASING THE PAST SEVERAL DAYS. THE RIGHTISTS WERE PARTICULARLY DISTURBED BY THE SYRIAN TURNOVER OF OVER TWO ROADBLOCKS IN THE CENTER OF BEIRUT TO LEFTIST LEBANESE MILITIAMEN. IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER THE HADETH FIGHTING WILL SPREAD INTO A CONFRONTATION ON THE SCALE OF EARLIER THIS MONTH. NEVERTHELESS, THE HIGH TENSION WOULD APPEAR TO INDICATE THAT AT LEAST MORE FIGHTING IS LIKELY.
- 5. MEANWHILE, LEBANESE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE CON-SIDERING THE MOVEMENT OF LEBANESE ARMY PERSONNEL TO SOUTH

LEBANON. THEY APPARENTLY FEAR THAT UNIFIL WILL NOT HAVE ITS MANDATE RENEWED IF THE LEBANESE ARMY IS NOT DEPLOYED. LEBANESE PROPOSALS AT THIS POINT ARE CONSIDERABLY LESS AMBITIOUS THAN THOSE WHICH WERE CONSIDERED IN APRIL. ONLY 200 TO 300 MEN, UNDER CURRENT PLANS, WILL BE SENT.

6. EVEN THIS MINOR MOVE WILL BE MET WITH HOSTILITY FROM MANY LEBANESE. OVER THE WEEKEND RIGHTIST LEADERS OF THE BORDER MILITIAS SAID THAT THEY WOULD FIGHT THE LEBANESE CONFIDENTIAL

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ARMY IF IT ATTEMPTED TO ENTER THEIR AREA. THIS HOSTILITY RESULTS FROM THE FAILURE IN THE PAST OF THE ARMY TO PREVENT PALESTINIAN INFILTRATION. MOREOVER, THE SYRIAN NATIONALIST PARTY LEADER, A MEMBER OF THE LEFTIST LEBANESE FORCES, SAID THAT HIS FORCES ALSO OPPOSED THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE ARMY SOUTH, BECAUSE THIS WOULD INCREASE RIGHTIST STRENGTH IN THE AREA.

- 7. THE RECENT FIGHTING IN BEIRUT OCCURRED IN AN AREA CLOSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE. ONE SHELL HIT THE BUILDING AND SEVERAL PASSED OVER IT. AMBASSADOR PARKER WILL BE MOVING TO THE CHANCERY IN WEST BEIRUT. (CONFIDENTIAL)
- 8. EGYPT. ABOUT THE ONLY THING MADE CLEAR BY PRESIDENT SADAT IN HIS SPEECH ON SATURDAY IS THAT HE IS FINDING IT DIFFICULT TO DEVISE A POLICY THAT WILL SIMULTANEOUSLY SILENCE CRITICS AND PROTECT HIS DEMOCRATIC CREDENTIALS. CONCERN WITH FOSTERING A DEMOCRATIC IMAGE APPEARS TO HAVE WON OUT FOR THE MOMENT. SADAT'S EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS ON THE PEACE PROCESS AT THE CLOSE OF HIS SPEECH ADD UP TO A CHALLENGE TO THE ISRAELIS TO COME UP WITH NEW PROPOSALS OR GET RID OF PRIME MINISTER BEGIN, AND TO THE US TO ACT NOW TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK.
- 9. SADAT DEFENDED HIS DEVOTION TO A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM AND ANNOUNCED HE WOULD FORM HIS OWN POLITICAL PARTY, ABOLISH THE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED ARAB SOCIALIST UNION--AN INSTITUION CREATED BY PRESIDENT NASIR THAT HAS SERVED RECENTLY AS AN UMBRELLA OVER EGYPTIAN POLITICAL PARTIES--AND ASK FOR RELAXATION OF THE LAW GOVERNING THE FORMATION OF NEW PARTIES.

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10. THE SPEECH WILL PROBABLY LEAVE SUPPORTERS STILL CONFUSED OVER HIS INTENTIONS, AND CRITICS ARE ENCOURAGED THAT HE IS RETREATING FROM HIS CRACKDOWN. SADAT DID NOT DESCRIBE HIS NEW PARTY'S PLATFORM AND LEFT UNSTATED WHAT

EFFECT THE FORMATION WOULD HAVE ON PRIME MINISTER SALIM AND HIS RULING CENTRIST PARTY.

- 11. BY DESCRIBING EGYPT'S "DEMOCRATIC CRISIS" AS AN ETHICAL RATHER THAN A LEGAL PROBLEM, SADAT IMPLICITLY ACKNOWLEDGED THE THINNESS OF HIS LEGAL JUSTIFICATION FOR SILENCING CRITICS. HE CALLED FOR A FORM OF SELF-DISCIPLINE IN WHICH ALL INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS WOULD SUBSCRIBE TO A CODE OF ETHICS THAT WOULD GOVERN THE BEHAVIOR OF THEIR MEMBERS. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, SADAT ACKNOWLEDGED DIFFICULTY REACHING A NATIONAL CONCENSUS ON SUCH A CODE AND INDICATED THE DEBATE WOULD CONTINUE.
- 12. THE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT'S TENTATIVENESS ABOUT THE NEW DIRECTIONS HE WAS OFFERING WAS PARTICULARLY EVIDENT IN HIS ADMISSION THAT THE DECISION TO FORM A NEW PARTY, WHICH HE WOULD HEAD, WAS HIS TOUGHEST EVER AND WAS MADE ONLY LATE LAST WEEK. SADAT IS SCHEDULED TO GIVE ANOTHER SPEECH ON WEDNESDAY AT ALEXANDRIA UNIVERSITY, IN WHICH HE MAY

FURTHER DEVELOP SOME OF THE THEMES INTRODUCED SATURDAY. HE MAY ALSO REACT IN ALEXANDRIA TO THE REJECTION YESTERDAY BY ISRAEL'S CABINET OF HIS CALL FOR A UNILATERAL ISRAELI CONCESSION IN THE SINAI AS A GOODWILL GESTURE.

13. SADAT'S ATTACK ON PRIME MINISTER BEGIN IN THE SPEECH ON SATURDAY WAS HIS MOST SEVERE TO DATE. IT REFLECTED SADAT'S CONCLUSION THAT BEGIN IS UNABLE TO MAKE PEACE, AND HIS POSITION THAT EGYPT AND ISRAEL HAVE LITTLE TO TALK ABOUT AS LONG AS ISRAEL REFUSES TO ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF WITHDRAWAL FROM THE WEST BANK AND GAZA.

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- 14. EMBASSY CAIRO REPORTS THAT SADAT AND KAMEL CLARIFIED THE EGYPTIAN POSITION ON THE LEEDS CONFERENCE AND ITS FOLLOW-UP, MAKING IT CLEAR THAT THERE MUST BE A NEW ELEMENT FROM ISRAEL BEFORE FUTURE MEETINGS ARE HELD. NEVERTHELESS, SADAT CONTINUES TO INSIST THAT HE STILL IS PREPARED TO MEET WITH WEIZMAN. EMPHATIC RESTATEMENTS OF THE EGYPTIAN POSITION SEEM DESIGNED TO APPLY PRESSURE ON BOTH ISRAEL AND THE US. EMBASSY CAIRO COMMENTS THAT REALISTIC OR NOT, THIS TACTIC ACCURATELY REFLECTS EGYPTIAN IMPATIENCE WITH THE PROSPECT OF YET ANOTHER ROUND OF INCONCLUSIVE TALKS. (CONFIDENTIAL)
- 15. JORDAN. KING HUSSEIN RETURNED HOME LATE YESTERDAY AFTER A TWO-DAY VISIT TO SAUDI ARABIA DURING WHICH HE DISCUSSED A COMMON EFFORT TO REBUILD ARAB UNITY AND "DEVELOP ARAB CAPABILITIES TO CONFRONT AGGRESSION AND OUTSIDE CHALLENGES." THE CAIRO PRESS, MEANWHILE, CITED OFFICIAL SOURCES IN AMMAN AS SAYING THAT HUSSEIN WOULD

VISIT CAIRO THIS WEEK FOR TALKS WITH SADAT. REGARDING HUSSEIN'S VISIT TO DAMASCUS, OUR EMBASSY IN AMMAN DOUBTS THAT JORDAN HAS TURNED TOWARD SYRIA'S HARD-LINE STANCE ON SADAT'S PEACE STRATEGY, BUT COMMENTS THAT THE JORDANIANS APPARENTLY DID SEEK TO BE INGRATIATING WITH THE SYRIANS. THE JORDANIANS CONTINUE TO BE SKEPTICAL OF SADAT'S EFFORTS, BUT THIS DOES NOT MEAN THEY WOULD ABANDON THE PEACE PROCESS OR SADAT'S ASSOCIATION WITH IT. (CONFIDENTIAL)

16. PALESTINIANS. THE PALESTINE CENTRAL COUNCIL (PCC)
COMMUNIQUE, ISSUED AT THE CONCLUSION OF ITS TWO-DAY
SESSION LAST WEEK, ESSENTIALLY SUMMARIZED CURRENT
PALESTINIAN VIEWS AND CONTAINED LITTLE THAT WAS NEW.
AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THE SUBSTANCE AND TONE OF THE
DOCUMENT SEEMS INDICATIVE OF ARAFAT'S RESURGENT STRENGTH
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IN FATAH AND THE PLO.

- 17. REGARDING THE INTERNAL PALESTINIAN SCENE, THE COMMUNIQUE:
- (A) STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF UNITY AMONG THE VARIOUS PALESTINIAN GROUPS AND THE NECESSITY OF AVOIDING "INTERNECINE" FIGHTING;
- (B) CALLED ON THE VARIOUS GROUPS TO CEASE "PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGNS," "MOBILIZATIONS," AND OTHER PROVOCATIONS DIRECTED AT EACH OTHER:
- (C) DENOUNCED THE IRAQI REGIME FOR ITS "HOSTILITY" TO THE PLO;
- (D) RECOMMENDED THAT THE PLO'S PARLIAMENTARY BODY, THE PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL (PNC), HOLD ITS OVERDUE REGULAR SESSION AFTER THE HOLY RAMADAN PERIOD IN AUGUST.
- 18. ON ARAB-ISRAEL ISSUES AND LEBANON, THE PCC STATEMENT:
- (A) CRITICIZED THE "CONTINUOUS CONCESSIONS" MADE BY SADAT AND THE US IN THE PEACE PROCESS:
- (B) ARGUED THAT SADAT'S LATEST PROPOSALS IGNORE THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS IN THE PEACE PROCESS;
- (C) CALLED UPON PALESTINIANS TO "RALLY AROUND SYRIA" IN LEBANON AND DECRIED THE CHRISTIANS' "CONSPIRATORIAL ACTIVITIES."
- 19. FOR THE MOSTPART, THESE VIEWS REFLECT THOSE OF

ARAFAT AND OTHERPLOMODERATES AND THUS ARE INDICATIVE OF CONFIDENTIAL

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THEIR PRESENT STRONG POSITION. ARAFAT'S CONTROL OF THE MOVEMENT SEEMS TO HAVE INCREASED CONSIDERABLY IN RECENT WEEKS AS HE HAS MOVED, APPARENTLY SUCCESSFULLY, TO STIFLE DISSENTERS WITHIN FATAH AND TO CRACK DOWN ON REJECTIONISTS IN LEBANON.

20. THE COMMUNIQUE GAVE FEW PALLIATIVES TO REJECTIONIST PALESTINIAN GROUPS, AND THE TONE OF EVEN THOSE SECTIONS WHICH WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE RADICALS IS SOFT. THE CRITICISM OF SADAT, FOR INSTANCE, IS MILD BY COMPARISON WITH EARLIER VITRIOLIC STATEMENTS DIRECTED AT THE EGYPTIAN LEADER. FURTHERMORE, THE HARSH CHARGES AGAINST IRAQ -- AND THE CALL FOR "UNITY" -- PROBABLY ARE DESIGNED TO SERVE ALSO

AS A SIGNAL OF ARAFAT'S DISPLEASURE WITH THOSE RADICAL PALESTINIAN GROUPS THAT BAGHDAD SUPPORTS AND OF HIS INTENTION TO PURSUE HIS CRACKDOWN ON THEM.

- 21. THAT THE PCC MEETING WAS HELD AT THIS TIME SEEMS TO BE ANOTHER INDICATION OF ARAFAT'S IMPROVED POSITION IN THE MOVEMENT. DURING THE CHALLENGE PRESENTED TO HIS LEADERSHIP LAST SPRING BY THE REJECTIONISTS AND SOME LEFTIST FATAH MEMBERS, HE WAS WARY OF HOLDING SUCH PCC MEETINGS FOR FEAR THAT THEY COULDDEVOLVEINTO SHOUTING MATCHES HARMFUL TO PALESTINIAN COHESIVENESS. HE PROBABLY REASONED NOW THAT HE COULD CONTROL A PCC SESSION DESPITE THE RANCOR CAUSED BY HIS CONTINUING CRACKDOWN ON PALESTINIAN RADICALS IN LEBANON.
- 22. MOREOVER, THE SETTING OF A ROUGH TIME-FRAME FOR THE OVERDUE PNC SESSION SUGGESTS THAT ARAFAT MAY BELIEVE HIS POSITION IS SUFFICIENTLY SOLID TO SEEK A MORE FORMAL ENDORSEMENT OF HIS POLICY LINE AND HIS DECISION-MAKING ON CONFIDENTIAL

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BEHALF OF THE PLO. THE TIMING MAY BE RIGHT, IN HIS PERCEPTION, FOR HIM TO MANIPULATE THE PNC TO HIS BENEFIT, PERSONALLY AND POLICYWISE, WITH MINIMAL OPPOSITION FROM HARDLINERS.

23. DESPITE HIS IMPROVED SITUATION, HOWEVER, ARAFAT WILL STILL UNDOUBTEDLY FACE CONTINUED CHALLENGES FROM REJECTIONISTS ELEMENTS. THE HARDLINERS FUNDAMENTALLY CONTINUE TO CHAFE UNDER WHAT THEY SEE AS ARAFAT'S AUTOCRATIC LEADERSHIP AND WILL LOOK FOR OPPORTUNITIES TO UNDERCUT HIM. (CONFIDENTIAL)

- 24. OPEC. A SPECIAL OPEC COMMITTEE OF FINANCIAL EXPERTS REPORTEDLY HAS RECOMMENDED THAT OPEC OIL PR;CES BE PEGGED TO A BASKET OF INTERNATIONAL CURRENCIES IN ORDER TO MITIGATE FURTHER LOSSES IN PURCHASING POWER CAUSED BY THE DECLINE OF THE US DOLLAR.
- 25. THE RECOMMENDATION WOULD HAVE TO BE ACTED ON BY OPEC GOVERNMENTS AT THE NEXT SCHEDULED MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE THIS DECEMBER IN ABU DHABI, OR AT AN EXTRAORDINARY MEETING THAT COULD BE CALLED BY THE CURRENT PRESIDENT OF OPEC, KUWAITI OIL MINISTER ALI KHALIFA AL-SABAH. IN JUNE 1975, OPEC OIL MINISTERS AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO PEG OIL PRICES TO THE SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS USED BY THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, BUT THE PLAN WAS NEVER IMPLEMENTED.
- 26. PEGGING OIL PRICES TO A BASKET OF CURRENCIES WOULD NOT IMMEDIATELY PUT PRESSURE ON THE DOLLAR. ASSUMING NO SUBSTANTIAL SHIFTS IN THE DOLLAR'S VALUE, OIL PRICES WOULD UNDERGO ONLY SMALL CHANGES. PAYMENTS FOR OIL WOULD STILL BE MADE IN DOLLARS. (CONFIDENTIAL/NOFORN) VANCE

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